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THE

CHHÁNDOGYA UPANISHAD

OF THE

SA'MA VEDA

WITH EXTRACTS FROM THE

COMMENTARY OF ŚANKARA ÁCHARYA.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL SANSKRITA

BY

RA'JENDRALA'LA MITRA.

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ERRATA.

Page	1	line	1	*for* " *Chhâudogya*" *read Chhândogya.*
"	9	"	17	*for* "oblation" *read* oblations.
"	40	"	28	*for* "hell" *read* sky.
"	75	"	8, 18 & 28	*for* "wasteth" *read* waste.
"	79	"	13	*for* "in case" *read* in that case.
"	79	"	19	*for* "these" *read* of these.
"	85	"	26	*for* "by" *read* in.
"	87	"	26	*for* "came and was born" *read* had come and taken his birth.
"	89	"	20	*for* "obtains" *read* obtain.
"	96	"	25	*for* "punishment" *read* punishments.
"	100	"	3	*for* "son" *read* grandson.
"	103	"	27	*for* "his" *read* its.
"	110	"	22	*for* " *Udanna*" *read Udanya.*
"	129	"	29	*for* "निद्वविसय" *read* निरतिसय.

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INTRODUCTION.

The Vedas have been justly described as the most ancient monument of the Arian world; and as the only means to a proper study of philology, they claim the highest consideration from the historian of the human tongue. In them alone we find the first fruits of the Arian mind in its attempt "to rise from nature up to nature's God," and to unveil the mysteries of a future world. They constitute the storehouse of early Indian knowledge, and the only expositor of the hopes and fears, the desires and wants, and the feelings and aspirations, which impelled the first Arian colonists of India in their career through life. But the Vedas form not a homogeneous series of works, nor are they the productions of a single age. Differing in extent, character, contents and antiquity, the different portions have very different claims to consideration. To the antiquarian and scholar the Sañhitá portion of the Rig Veda will always appear the most interesting, but among the ancient Hindus, the Sáma, though third in rank, was held in the highest veneration, and hence it is that Kṛishṇa, in the Bhagavat Gitá, calls himself "The Sáma among the Vedas." It was likewise, at one time, supposed to be the most comprehensive of the four Vedas. According to the Mahábhárata, whose statement has been repeated by the Vishṇu Puráṇa and the Mauktika Upaṇishad, it included no less than a thousand different Sákhás or schools. But one of the most ancient indices to the contents of the Vedas, the Charaṇavyúha, notwithstanding its being the chief source whence the Mahábhárata has borrowed its accounts of the Hindu scriptures and of the

extent of the Sáma Veda, supplies the names of only seven Sákhás with their subdivisions. The rest, it says, were destroyed by Indra, owing to their having been recited on forbidden days.* Considering that the index in question was composed during the Sutra period of Vedic literature, when Bráhmaṇic learning had yet lost little of its grandeur and authority, it is difficult to conceive that so many different portions of the most pre-ëminent of the Vedas could be so entirely lost as to leave not even their names behind. It would be much more reasonable, therefore, to suppose that the word 'thousand' was used to imply only a large extent, and not to indicate any precise number. Such use of the term is not unknown in Sanskrit, and it would offer a much more reasonable solution of there being only so few Sákhás extant of a once voluminous work.

Of the seven Sákhás alluded to in the Charaṇavyúha, the names vary in different MSS. Those quoted by Dr. Max Müller, in his history of the Ancient Sanskrit Literature,† correspond very nearly with those in the codices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Tattvabodhiní Sabhá, and the Sanskrit College of Calcutta. According to them, the first Sákhá is named Ráṇáyaníya; the second Sáṭyamurgiya, Sáṭyamurgya, Sátyamurgrya or Sátyamudgala; the third Kálápa or Kálopa; the fourth Mahákálápa or Mahákálopa; the fifth Lángalá-yana or Lángala; the sixth, Sárdúla, and the seventh Kauthuma. Of these the last or Kauthuma alone is subdivided, the names of the subdivisions being 1. Ásuráyaṇa, 2. Vátá-yana, 3. Pránjalidvaitabhrit, Prajvalanadvaitabhrit or Pránjvalidvainabhrit, 4. Práchinayogya, and 5. Naigeya-Kauthuma.‡

In the MS. quoted by Rájá Rádhákánta Deva, in the 5th volume of his Sabdakalpadruma (voce Veda) the names and the order of arrangement are given in a different way, and even

* अनध्यायेष्वधीयानास्ते शतक्रतुवज्रेणाभिहताः प्रनष्टाः । *Charaṇavyúha.*

† Page 373.

‡ The order of arrangement differs somewhat in different MSS.

the number of the subdivisions is greatly increased. According to it, the names of the divisions are 1. Ásuráyaṇa or Suráyaṇa, 2. Vártántaveya, 3. Pránjala, 4. Rigvarṇabheda, 5. Práchínjogya, 6. Jnánajogya,* 7. Ráṇáyaníya; the subdivisions of the last being, 1. Saṭhyáyaniya or Sarayaniya or Saṭhyamurgya, 2. Sátvala or Sátya-mudbhava, 3. Maudgala, 4. Khallala, 5. Mahákhallala, 6. Lángala, 7. Kauthuma, 8. Gautama, 9. Jaiminíya. Thus the Ráṇáyaníya, which has no subdivision according to the first classification, is made to include nine branches, while the Kauthuma, which in the former has six subdivisions, appears itself only as a subdivision without any minor divisions of its own. Professor Müller supposes this difference to be the result of Rájá Rádhákánta's MS. being corrupt. We find, however, from a commentary of the Index under notice† that it is due to causes other than the accidental corruption of a single manuscript: for the commentator first gives the seven divisions of the Rájá's texts, dividing the last into nine subdivisions, and then supplies, as the opinion of a different set of writers, the seven divisions commencing with the Ráṇáyaniya and ending with the Kauthuma, as given in Professor Müller's work. The subdivisions of the last school or that of the Kauthuma in this classification are six, viz.: 1. Kauthuma, 2. Ásuráyaṇa, 3. Vatáyana, 4. Pránjalidvainabhrit, 5. Prachinayogya, and 6. Naigameya; the Naigeya-Kauthuma of Professor Müller being evidently here divided into two separate schools.

The Váyu Puráṇa has again a different arrangement. According to it the Sáma Veda was first studied by Jaimini, from whom it descended successively to Sumanta and Sukarman. The last had two sons, Hiraṇyanábha *alias* Kausalya and Pushpinji or Paushyinji, each of whom established a different school, and their pupils were respectively known as the chanters of the Northern and the Eastern Sámas. Lokákhshi, Ku-

* Nayagya in the Sanskrit College MS.

† Sanskrit College MS.

thumi, Kushídí and Lángali were the heads of the Eastern chanters, and founders of schools known by their names. A pupil of Hiraṇyanábha, named Kriti, taught twenty-four Sákhás to as many pupils, and they in their turn became the founders of many more. Sukarman alone taught a thousand disciples, each of whom became the founder of a different Sákhá. Besides them Ráṇáyaníya, son of Lokákhshi, founded a school, and his son Saumitri founded three. Parásara, son of Kuthumi, taught six Sákhás and Sáligotra, son of Lángali originated as many more. Thus the number of Sákhás, according to the Váyu Puráṇa, greatly exceeded a thousand. But a thousand were destroyed by Indra, and a great many of the remainder followed their fate owing, it is said, to neglect of the usual rules of recitation.*

According to the commentator of the Charaṇavyúha three Sákhás alone are now extant, of which the Kauthuma is current in Guzerat, the Jaiminiya in Karṇátaka, and the Ráṇáyaníya in Maháráshṭra. Manuscripts of these, however, have not yet come under observation, and their peculiarities therefore remain to a great extent unknown to oriental scholars.

Notwithstanding this extensive destruction of the Sákhás, in regard to the number of mantras still current, the Sáma is more copious than the Yajur and the Atharva Vedas, though not perhaps equal to the Rig. It has no less than six separate collections of hymns (Sañhitás) and eight of its rituals (Bráhmaṇas), besides several supplements of doubtful authenticity. The most important of the Sañhitás is the Chhándasika, otherwise called the Árchika;†—a collection of hymns intended

* Wilson's Vishṇu Puráṇa, 282.

† Stevenson's Sáma Veda, London, 1842. Benfey's ditto, Bonn, 1848. It is generally believed that the recension followed by these editors belongs to the Ránáyaṇíya Sákhá, but a MS. obtained from a professional Kauthumi Bráhman at Benares for the Tattvabodhiní Sabhá, although it is described in the colophon as the Kauthumi Sañhitá, corresponds letter for letter with the published work.

for recitation during the Sóma sacrifice. Most of these hymns are found in the Rig Sañhitá; hence it has been supposed that they have been appropriated from that collection. The extent of appropriation has been reckoned to be 585 hymns in the first, and 1225 in the second, of the two parts into which the work is divided. This would give a total of 1810, but as 249 hymns of the first part are repeated in the second, three are so cited twice, and nine exist twice in each part, the actual number of hymns common to the Rig and the A'rchika amounts to 1549, most of them being from the 8th and the 9th Manḍalas. This identity of a great number of hymns in the two collections necessarily indicates that one of them must have borrowed much of its matter from the other, but it is difficult to determine which is the borrower and which the lender, for both have a number of hymns which have the appearance of the highest antiquity, while others are undoubtedly of comparatively a more modern growth.

The first part of the A'rchika is subdivided into six prapáṭhakas, each of which includes ten *dasatis* or decades of hymns, an arrangement which obtains likewise in the second part of the Satapatha Bráhmaṇa, and in diverse other portions of the Vedas. The hymns are consecrated to the three deities, Agṇi, Sóma and Indra, the first having for his share twelve decades, the second eleven, and the third thirty-seven.

The latter or Uttara A'rchika includes nine prapáṭhakas, each of which is subdivided into two or three sections, and embraces a great many hymns of the first part, but arranged in groups of two or three hymns together. The principle of the arrangement is obscure, but it is evident that the object was to bring together hymns of particular classes for particular ritual purposes.

The second Sañhitá is called the *A'raṇyaka Sañhitá.* It comprises a collection of hymns adapted for chanting in forests and deserted places, and embraces only five decades (dasatis) with an appendix entitled Mahánámni. Several MSS. of this

work have come under my observation, but they were all corrupt, the dasatis including from seven to fourteen stanzas instead of ten as they should, according to their designation.*

The next Sañhitá is the *Grámageyagáṇa,* otherwise called the *Veyagáṇa.*† It belongs to a class of compositions which

* As MSS. of the Sáma Veda are rare, and many occur in fragments, the substance of this and the subsequent notes regarding those that have come under my observation, might, it is hoped, prove of use.

Of the Áraṇyaka Sañhitá there are two MSS. in the Library of the Asiatic Society, of which one is in the *pothi* form, without number, and the other bound in a 4to. vol. with several other fragments of the Sáma Veda. MS. No. 27, I, 1½ folia of 26 lines to the page.

Beginning इन्द्रं ज्येष्ठं न आभर ।

II. Dasati. त्वमेतद्धारयः ।

III. „ मयि वर्चो अथो यशोऽथो ।

IV. „ भ्राजन्त्यग्ने ।

V. „ अग्न आयूंषि पवस ।

End मोर्चिष्केशं विचक्षणं ।

Beginning of Mahánámní ओम् विदामघवन्विदागातुं ।

End of ditto ओम् एवाह्निदेवाः ।

In an authentic MS. belonging to a Sáma Vedi Pandit, this portion is described as a half prapáṭhaka of the Áraṇyaka Sañhitá, making the work to comprise 5½ prapáṭhakas, the dasatis being called prapáṭhakas.

† No. 24 of the Asiatic Society's Library, 59 fl. folio, of 25 lines to the page, comprising 17 chapters.

Beginning ओम् भूर्भुवः स्वः तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं ।

II.—उभयस्तोम । गोतमं ।

III.—बार्हस्पत्यं बृहस्पत्यनुष्टुपं, विश्वे देवा सोमऽ राजानं वरुणम् ।

IV.—रोहितकूलीय । द्वयोरिन्द्रो गायित्री ॥ ऐन्द्रयानसिऽ रयिं ।

V.—आर्षभानि त्रीणि । ऋषभो गायत्रीन्द्रः । अभित्या वृषमासुतायि॰ ।

VI.—आभीशवम् । अभीर्भुगायत्रीन्द्रः । आरन्त इन्द्र श्रवसे ए ।

VII.—यौक्तस्रुचम् । युक्तवेहन्तीन्द्रः । इन्द्राग्निर्देवता ।

VIII.—गौरीविताद्वे । गौरिवृहतीन्द्रः । सुनोत सोमपाव्रा ६ ए

is peculiar to the Sáma Veda, nothing similar to it being observable in the Rig, Yajur or the Atharva. Its congeners are the *Áranya Gána** the *Uhá Gána*† and the *Uhya*

IX.—तार्च्यसामनी द्वे। तार्च्यस्त्रिष्टुविन्द्रं सूर्य्यो वान्यसूष्। अरिष्टना २ ४ यिमीस्।

X.—शैखण्डिने द्वे। शिखण्डिर्जगतीन्द्रः। अत्ते हायि। दधा २।

XI.—बृहत्कमब्रह्मा ककुभरुतः। आगन्ता। माह्विषण्णा २ ३ ता।

XII.—श्लोके द्वे। प्रजापतिस्त्रिष्टुबिन्द्रः। हाउ स्वरता। ब्रह्माणा २। इन्द्रम्।

XIII.—भ्यसम्। अचिर्गायत्री सोमः। या स्वायि। मादो वोराओ २ ३ ४ वाणौ
२ ३ ४ याः।

XIV.—वार्षाहरम्। वृषाहरिर्गायत्री सूर्य्यः। अचिक्रदा३ त्। आचिक्रदा३ त्।

XV.—वैष्णावे द्वे। विष्णुबृहती सोमः। तवाह॰ सो। मरा २ रणा।

XVI.—त्रैष्ठीनी त्रीणि अहोहायि। अथो हायि।

XVII.—पादे द्वे। पसिष्ठो व्यिगिन्द्रः। इन्द्रमच्छा। सुता यिमा। डेहो २ ३ ४ वा।

End—क्रीडन्नूर्म्मिरपोवा ३ उ २ ३ ४ वा। आऽपयिवो ६ हायि।

* No. 423 A. of the Library of the Asiatic Society. This is the only MS. I have seen of this portion of the Sáma Veda, and it is probably imperfect. It comprises 5½ prapáṭhakas divided into half prapáṭhakas. The last half ends without adverting to the No. of the prapáṭhaka: 36 pages fl. of 28 lines each.

Beginning यद्यावइ। इता ३। नुवा २ ३। श्या २ ३ ४ तास। first half 26, kaṇḍikás. II. 28, k. III. 32 ditto. IV. 22 ditto. V. 30 ditto. VI. 25 ditto. VII. 20 ditto. VIII. 20 ditto. IX. 22 ditto. X. 24 ditto. XI. 29 ditto. XII. 22 ditto. XIII. 5 ditto.

Last line होइ हावाहा ३ १ डवा १ ३। इ ३ ४ डा। ओरवोदि देवा २ ३ ४।

† No. 423 B. Library of the Asiatic Society, incomplete, containing only 9 out of 23 prapáṭhakas of which the work is made of. The prapáṭhakas are divided into half prapáṭhakas; 69 pages fl. of 28 lines to the page.

Beginning ओम् होयवम्। उमः। ओंचाता ३ यिजातमन्धसाः।

II.—त्रीणि धनमायास्यां।

III.—ऋषिर्विप्राणां महिया।

IV.—संतनि। वृषाहाउ। पायस्वभा ३ १ उवा १ ३।

V.—अभियुम्नं बृहद्यामा ३।

VI.—आसिताद्यं। परित्यहर्यस्वि।

*Gáṇa.** They are made up of hymns taken principally if not entirely from the Árchika, but so transmogrified by "prolonging the sounds of vowels and resolving diphthongs into two or more syllables, inserting likewise in many places other additional syllables, besides placing numerical marks for the management of the voice"† that at first sight they appear to be totally different. The first Gáṇa is arranged in seventeen prapáṭhakas, and intended to be sung at sacrifices performed in towns; the second has six prapáṭhakas, and has, as its name implies, the forest for its proper place of recitation.

They belong to the Prior Árchika, as the third and the fourth belong to the Posterior. The order of arrangement of the first two is laid down in the Ársheya Bráhmaṇa, an Anukramaṇi of the Sáma, which from its antiquity has been ennobled by being reckoned among the Bráhmaṇas of that Veda.

VII.—हाविश्वतं। हाउ ट्पापवस्व धारय।
VIII.—रयिष्टं। पवस्व वाजसाता २ याद्।
IX.—गैातमं। आजामित्क अव्याता।
End रेाडुहायिसमेनं प्रत्येातना २ सेा २ २ ४।

* MS. without No. in six prapáṭhakas, pothi of 84 folia, 7 and sometimes 8 lines in each, about 7 inches long.

The hymns are differently named the Vrihad Sáma, Ráthántara, Sáma, Vairupya Sáma, Raivata Sáma, Dírgha Sáma, Rájana, Panchanidhana, Vámadevya, Swashirámuka, &c. &c. with references to the tunes to which they are sung.

Beginning of p. I.—आभिचा चरनेानुमेाना।
II.—अहेाद्मत्स्यपायिते मदा२ए।
III.—उऊवाउहा। अहेावा। पुरेाजिताद्।
IV.—अतिप्रिपाणिप। वतेच। नेाह्यितः।
V.—ट्हत्सामानि। पञ्च अहेा एनावेा।
VI.—एसेामाः। उष्वाणः सेाह्भाद्ः।
End—दा१ २ हेाद्। चेाना २। डवा२ ३। द्ढा। द्डा२ ३ ४ ५।
ह ह

† Colebrooke's Essays, p. 48.

The hymns comprised in these Sañhitás have been variously arranged for ritual, rhythmic and recitative purposes.

Mádhaváchárya in his introduction to the Chhándasika* observes that all mantras are divisible into thirty-six species, five of which are appropriate to the Rig, and the rest to the Sáma Veda. The divisions of the latter are technically called Prastáva, Udgítha, Pratihára, Upadrava, Nidhana, Hiñkára, Praṇava, A'sásti, Srutisañkhyána, Pralaya, Paridevana, Praisha, Anveshana, Srishti, Akhyána, and sixteen modes of singing. A second division is in twenty-six parts, each of which has a peculiar name† and is referred to a particular deity. A third division is five-fold, and that is the most common among the Chhandogas. It separates the hymns into Rigvyúha, 2. Stobha Sáma, 3. A'dimadhya-nidhana, 4. Padavibhága, 5. Padastobhavibhaga. These several divisions apply equally to the hymns of the A'rchika as well as to those of the four Gáṇas, and are referrible more to musical considerations—to their adaptation to particular modes of recitation and singing—than to their nature or their contents.

The gods appropriate to the hymns of the Sáma are Agṇi, Indra, Prajápati, Soma, Varuṇa, Tvasṭá, Añgírá, Pushá, Sarasvati and Indrágṇi. But they do not claim the hymns in common; particular classes have their particular deities, and there are more than one modes of assigning to the divinities their especial hymns. Generally the hymns of the class *Nidhana* belong to Agṇi, those of Svara to Prajápati, and those of Adista and the Prastuta Sáma to Indra. For the Vámadevya hymns any god would be appropriate: but if they happen to be in the Gáyatrí meter, they should belong

* Asiatic Society's MS. No. 424, Chhándasika Vivaraṇa: 82 folia of 25 lines to the page, bound in a 4to. Vol. N. character. Very corrupt.

† 1. Hä-ukára. 2. Há-ïkára. 3. Athakára. 4. Hákára. 5. I-kára. 6. Ukára. 7. Ekára. 8. Ohoïakára. 9. Hiñkára. 10. Svara. 11. A'da. 12. Aniructa. 13—25, the thirteen Stobhas. 26. Hukára.

to Agṇi. With regard to hymns other than these, the rule is that the divinity eulogized, is the presiding deity of the hymn which eulogizes him.

The meters most appropriate to the Sáma are described to be the Gáyatrí, the Vrihati, the Trishtubha, the Anustubh, the Jagati, the Sarkari, the Kakva and the Pañcti. Several others are occasionally met with, but are not held to be so appropriate, owing, no doubt, to their being less adapted than these to the musical meters which were held in the greatest favour by the chanters of this portion of the Vedas.

The Bráhmaṇas of the Sáma Veda are generally much more interesting than its Sañhitás. They dwell upon a variety of subjects which help to throw much light on the state of Hindu society at a very remote period of its history. Unlike the Bráhmaṇas of the Yajur, which are mostly exegetic in their character, those of the Sáma adopt an independent course, and afford expositions of matters which have no necessary connexion with their hymnology. Their number, according to Kumárila Bhatta and Sáyana,* should be eight, including the Panchaviñs'a, the Shaḍviñs'a, the Sámavidhána, the Arsheya, the Devatádyáya, the Upanishad, the Sanhitopanishad and the Vañsa. Manuscripts however are available of a larger number, which bear all the marks, such as they are, of Sáma Bráhmaṇas, and some we have heard recited by Sáma Vedi chanters who had from generations learnt them as portions of the Sákhás to which they belonged. These would indicate that the great commentators were not familiar with all the Sáma works that were extant in their time, and yet their knowledge in such matters was great, and their dicta cannot be readily gainsaid on the authority of itinerant

* अष्टौ हि ब्राह्मणग्रन्थाः प्रौढं ब्राह्मणमादिमं।
षड्विंशाख्यं द्वितीयं स्यात्ततः सामविधिर्भवेत्॥
आर्षेयं देवताध्यायं भवेदुपनिषत्ततः।
संहितोपनिषद्वंशो ग्रंथा अष्टावितीरिताः॥ Sáyana's Commentary on the Sámavidhána, apud Max Müller, Rig Veda, Vol. I. p. xxvii.

Sáma chanters, or even of manuscripts of moderate antiquity. It is impossible therefore to determine which of the supernumeraries should be put down as apocryphal, and which as fragments of authentic works.

The most considerable of the Sáma liturgy is the Táṇḍya otherwise called the Prauḍha Bráhmaṇa, which, from the number of chapters contained in it, is likewise named the Pañchaviñsa Bráhmaṇa. Its subject is an exposition of the ritual details of the Soma sacrifices, including the Ekáha, the Ahina and the Satras, by the performance of which heaven and other rewards are obtainable. These seem to have taken for their celebration, sometimes a single day and sometimes two, three, five or a dozen; while at others a hundred days or many years, were not thought too long for their completion. In connexion with these the work recounts a variety of legends of great interest in regard to certain grand sacrifices performed on the banks of the Sarasvatí and the Drisadvatí at a very remote period of antiquity, and gives us an insight into the ceremonials by which the aboriginal Indians were admitted into the pale of the Arians. It makes mention, likewise, of the Naimishiä Rishis, of Para Atnara king of Kosala, of Trisadasya Purukutsa, of Nami prince of Videha, and of Kurukshetra and Yamuna. These, coupled with the absence in it of the names of Janaka, Kurupanchála and the like, afford important evidence regarding the age when the work was composed and first recited. The name of Táṇḍya in the White Yajur may be taken as further evidence under the same head.*

* MS. No. 23 of the Asiatic Society fl. 153.

Beginning श्रोम् मह्न्मे । वा । चेा भ । गेा । म । वा चायश्रेा मे वेाचः स्तेाम ।

II. p. तिहृभ्येा हिङ्करोति स प्रथमया ।

III. p. नवभ्येा हिङ्करोति स तिहृभिः स पञ्चभिः ।

IV. p. गावेा वा एतत्सत्रमासत ।

V. p. वामदेव्यं महाव्रतम् ।

VI. p. प्रजापतिरकामयत वह्नस्यां प्रजायेय ।

VII. p. इमे वै लेाका गायत्रं ।

The Shaḍviñsa Bráhmaṇa is generally supposed to form, as its name implies, the concluding or rather a supplementary chapter to the preceding. It is, however, of much larger extent than the other chapters of the Pañchaviñsa, and divided into prapáṭhakas and sections independent of its alleged relationship. Hence it is that Sáyana has described it as an independent Bráhmaṇa, although by assuming it to be so, the epithet, Shaḍviñsa (26), either as an ordinal or a cardinal number, becomes inapplicable. It gives the details partly of such ceremonies as are not to be found in the Pañchaviñsa, and partly of ceremonies given in the latter, but in a manner quite different; besides a variety of propitiatory and condemnatory ceremonies, which do not find a place in the Bráhmaṇas of the Rig and the Yajur Vedas.*

The fifth chapter of the work is peculiar. Its object is to lay

VIII. p. आस्कारनिधनं काण्वं ।
IX. p. देवा वा उक्थान्यभिजित्य ।
X. p. अग्निना पृथिव्यौषधिभिः ।
XI. p. स्तोमो युज्यत सचियेभ्यः ।
XII. p. द्वौद्युतत्यातया ऋचेति तृतीयस्याह्नः ।
XIII. p. गोवित्पवमवसुविद्धिरण्यवित् ।
XIV. p. ओम् आप्यन्ते वा एते स्तोमाः ।
XV. p. अक्रान्त्समुद्रः परमे विधर्म्मं ।
XVI. p. प्रजापतिर्वा इदमेक आसीत्
XVII. p. देवा वै स्वर्गं लोकं ।
XVIII. p. सप्तदशोग्निष्टोमो देवाः।
XIX. p. अथैषराड्योराज्य आसमानः ।
XX. p. त्रिष्टुब्बहिष्पवमानं ।
XXI. p. इन्द्रामरुतवः सहभक्तं ।
XXII. p. पृष्ठ्यः षडहः ऋतवः ।
XXIII. p. अतिरात्रः पृष्ठ्यः षडहः ।
XXIV. p. अतिरात्र स्वयः पञ्चाहा ।
XXV. p. अतिरात्रस्वतुर्विंशय प्राणीयं ।
End सर्वाम्हद्धिमाप्नुवन्ति य एतदुपयन्ति ।

* MS. No. 27 E. of the Asiatic Society.

down expiations for evil omens and portents, including a great number of physical phenomena, such as the fall of meteors; upheaval, depression or quaking of the earth; and the appearance of comets, rainbows and haloes. Some of the portents named are of a very fanciful character, such as the shaking of temples, laughing, weeping, winking, sweating, dancing and singing of idols; the appearance of shadows of the human trunk on the disk of the sun, and the emanation of smoke from the horns of cattle; while others are references to diseases and physical facts which to the observers of the time were either very rare or inexplicable. The fact of its having a separate name, the *Adbhuta Bráhmaṇa*, shews that it is a distinct work, notwithstanding all the Manuscripts that have yet come under observation, making it the last chapter of the Shaḍviñsa. Sáyana does not count it as a separate work. It adverts, however, to names and circumstances which clearly indicate that it was compiled at a much later time than the chapters which precede it.

Next to it may be named the *Sámabidhána Bráhmaṇa.* It is a treatise on expiations and áchára or customs in three chapters, and, in the MS. of the Asiatic Society (No. 27 *D.*), occupies, only 9 folia of 26 lines to the page.* It has been commented upon by Sáyana who calls it the third Bráhmaṇa of the Sáma Veda. The fourth in his list is the *Rishi or Arsheya Bráhmaṇa.* Professor Weber does not wish to include it among the ritual works, inasmuch as it is devoted to an enumeration of

Beginning ओं ब्रह्मह वा इदमग्रे सुब्रह्म चासीं ।
II. p. प्रजापतिरकामयत बहुः स्याम् प्रजायेय ।
III. p. यावान् यज्ञे रसो भवति ।
IV. p. प्रजापतिस्तपोतप्यत ।
V. p. अथातोऽद्भुतानां कर्म्मणां ।
End व्याहृतिभिर्ह्रुत्वाऽथ साम गायेत् ।

* Beginning ब्रह्मह वा इदमग्र आसीत् ।
II. p. ओं अथातः काम्यानामनादेशे ।
III. p. अथातो धन्यानाꣳ शुक्लवाससां प्रयोगः ।
End यं कामं कामयते तमाप्नोति तमाप्नोति ।

the Seers of the Sáma Veda and, as such, should be reckoned among the *Anukramaṇis*, or Indices. But Indian scholiasts invariably take it as a Bráhmaṇa. It is a short treatise of 12 pages including only three and a half prapáṭhakas.* Similar to it in character, but apparently of a different date, is the *Vañsa Bráhmaṇa*,—or a genealogy of the Rishis of the third Veda, in a short chapter of a page and three quarters. It occurs as the last of the Bráhmaṇas in Sáyana's list; but Professor Weber refuses it a place among the Bráhmaṇas for the same reasons for which the Ársheya has been called an Anukrámaṇi.† It is followed by a short treatise in one chapter on the Vedic rishis under the title of *Agṇi Bráhmaṇa*.‡ Its colophon calls it *Devatádhyáya*, or the "chapter on gods," which would indicate that the work had other chapters, on other subjects, but we have no means at command to ascertain if such were the case. In Sáyana's list it stands fifth, immediately after the *Arsheya Bráhmaṇa*, which there follows the Sámavidhána. Next to it is another chapter which has for its subject the mode

* MS. No. 27 *C.* $3\frac{1}{2}$ prapáṭhakas. The half (ardha) prapáṭhaka appears first, and the three full prapáṭhakas then follow in order. It might be supposed that the half is the first moiety of the 1st prapáṭhaka, but the Chhandogas reckon it separately ; 6, folia, fl. of 26 lines to the page.

Beginning $\frac{1}{2}$ P. अथ खल्वयमार्षप्रदेशो भवति।

I. शैापर्णानि त्रीणि प्राच्प्रवेतसानि वा।

II. इन्द्रस्य चष्टषकं।

III. आयास्यं माण्डवं च।

End प्रकार्य्यो वा प्रकार्य्यो वा।

† MS. No. 27 H. of the Library of the Asiatic Society. It begins with the words—

Beginning नमो ब्रह्मणे नमो ब्राह्मणेभ्यो नम आचार्येभ्यः।

Ends गैातमात् समानं परं समानं परं।

‡ MS. No. 27 F. $1\frac{1}{4}$ folia of 26 lines to the page.

Beginning अग्निरिन्द्रः प्रजापतिः सेामेावरुणस्त्वष्टाङ्गिरसः।

End सत्यञ्च पातुमामिति।

of reading Upanishads. It is known by the name of Sanhitopanishad, and is the sixth in Sayanás list.*

Among a lot of manuscrpts some time ago made over to me by a learned Sáma Vedi Bráhmaṇ, there are four other works which he assured me were portions of the third Veda, and as such he had studied them under his tutor. The first of these is entitled *Hasti-shad Bráhmaṇa* or in short *Hasti Bráhmaṇa.* It is comprised in a *puthi* of 102 folia of 7 lines each, the lines being about 6 inches long. The subject matter is arranged in four books or prápáṭhakas, each of which is subdivided into *bráhmaṇas, ardha prapáṭhakas,* and *kaṇḍikás.* The first book includes 4 bráhmaṇas and 108 kaṇḍikás; the second, 4 bráhmaṇas and 105 kaṇḍikás; the third, 2 bráhmaṇas and 85 kaṇḍikás; and the fourth 2 bráhmaṇas and 101 kaṇḍikás. According to a different arrangement the work is divided into 5 Adhyáyas, each having a definite number of kaṇḍikás.† The second work is known by the name of *Ushá Bráhmaṇa.* In extent it is larger than the preceding, but is divided like it into prapáthakas and bráhmaṇas.‡ The third

* No. 27 G. 1¾ folia of 26 lines to the page.
Beginning अयातः सहिंतोपनिषदो व्याख्यास्यामः ।
End चतुर्ऋचो भवति य एवं वेद य एवं वेद ।

† Beginning of the I. p. गार्हपत्यं चेष्यन् पलाशशाखया ।
II. p. अथ दर्भसांबमुपदधाति ।
III. p. आत्मन्नग्निं गृह्णीतचेष्यन् ।
IV. p. कूर्म्मसुपदधाति । रसो वै कूर्म्मो रसमेवैतदुपदधाति ।
End तस्मात्समानसंवधानाः ।

‡ MSS. without No. puthi, 246 folia of 6 lines to the page, each line five inches in length. The work is comprised in five prapáṭhakas as follow:
Beginning of I. p. असद्वा इदमग्र आसीत् । तदाहुः किंतत् ।
II. p. प्राजापत्यश्चरकाः आलभन्ते ।
III. p. प्रदीप्ता एतेग्नयो भवन्ति ।
IV. p. तस्याः एतस्या अषाढां पूर्वां करोति ।

is called *Havyan Bráhmaṇa** and in extent and character is very like the above as is also the last or *Ekvái Bráhmaṇa.*† They begin without the usual salutation to the Sáma Veda, but

V. p. एकां प्रतिमुच्य विभर्त्ति।

End अग्निर्यावानग्निर्यावत्यस्य मात्रातावत्तद्भवति।

The first prapáṭhaka includes 4 bráhmaṇas and 110 kaṇḍikás; the second, contains 4 bráhmaṇas and 908 kaṇḍikás; the third, 7 bráhmaṇas and 114 kaṇḍikás, the fourth, 6 bráhmaṇas and 100 kaṇḍikás, the fifth 6 bráhmaṇas and 102 kaṇḍikás.

* MS. without No. puthi, 247 folia of 5 lines to the page, each line being 6 inches in length. Seven prapáṭhakas, subdivided into Bráhmanas, of which the first, the second, the third and the fourth include 6 each; the fifth 5, the sixth 4, and the seventh 4: the number of kaṇḍikás being 121 in the first, 122 in the second, 128 in the third, 121 in the fourth, 121 in the fifth, 111 in the sixth and 114 in the seventh.

Beginning of the I. p. व्रतमुपैष्यत्। अन्तरेरमाहवनीयञ्चगार्हपत्यं.

II. p. चतुर्धाविहितो हचाअग्नि अग्निरास।

III. p. तेवाः आर्द्धस्युः।

IV. p. सक्षचोत्तरमाधारं साधारविघ्नन्।

V. p. यज्ञेनवैदेवाः। इमाञ्जितिं जिग्युर्यैषामियंजितिस्तेहामः।

VI. p. यज्ञेनवैदेवा। दिवमुपोदक्रामन्।

VII. p. सवैस्तु चोन्यूहति।

End तस्मादिदमद्येय एवास्मिन्सोस्मीत्येव ब्रह्माभ्विहजेत्।

† MS. without No. *puthi*, 195 folia of 8 lines to the page, each line being about 4 inches in length. The work is divided into Prapáṭhakas and Bráhmaṇas. The first prapáṭhaka has 6 bráhmaṇas and 114 kaṇḍikás, the second 8 bráhmaṇas and 103 kaṇḍikás, the third 5 bráhmaṇas and 113 kaṇḍikás, the fourth 4 bráhmaṇas and 115 kaṇḍikás, the fifth 5 bráhmaṇas and 104 kaṇḍikás.

I. p. begins with सयद्वा इतस्वेतस्व संभरति।

II. p. वरुणो हैनद्राज्यकाम आदधे।

III. p. यत्र वै प्रजापतिः प्रजाः संसृजे।

IV. p. प्रजपतिर्हवाऽएतेनाग्रेयज्ञेनेजे।

V. p. महाहविषा ह वैदेवा हत्रं जघ्नुः।

End p. परमां गतिं गच्छतीति।

have the ritualistic character of a Bráhmaṇa composition, but how far they are portions of the Veda in question, in the absence of commentaries, we have no other authority than the assurance of our pandit.

Although not Bráhmaṇas by themselves, as parts of what once were such, the *A'raṇyaka* and the *Kena Upanishad* deserve notice in this place. The former is said to comprise only two short chapters, and the latter thirty-six stanzas divided into four sections. Of the former we have as yet seen no MS. and have every reason to doubt its existence. The Upanishad has passed through several editions. According to *S*añkara, it forms part of the Talavakára *S*ákhá, but as no notice of such a school appears in the Charaṇavyúha, it must have long since ceased to exist.

The last Bráhmaṇa which we have to notice is the *Chhándogya*, and it is with a view to shew its position as a portion of the Sáma Veda that the preceding pages have been indited. In extent it is much smaller than the Táṇḍya and the other leading Bráhmaṇas, although in name it is pre-eminently *the* Bráhmaṇa of the reciters of the third Veda.* In Sáyaná's list it is called the Upanishad, though that title is due only to a portion of it. Manuscripts of the work are easily available, but as yet we have seen no commentary attached to the Bráhmaṇa portion of any one of them. According to general acceptation, the work embraces ten chapters, of which the first two are reckoned to be the Bráhmaṇa, and the rest is known under the name of *Chhándogya Upanishad*. In their arrangement and style, the two portions differ greatly, and judged by them, they appear to be productions of very different ages, though both are evidently relics of pretty remote antiquity.

Of the two chapters of the Chhándogya Bráhmaṇa,† the first includes eight *suctas* on the ceremony of marriage, and the rites necessary to be observed at the birth of a child. The first

* From Chhandoga, a chanter or reciter of Chhandas.

† Beginning ॐ देवसवितः प्रसुव यज्ञं प्रसुव यज्ञपतिं भगाय।
Do of II. p. यः प्राच्यां दिशि सर्पराज एष ते बलिः॥

sucta is intended to be recited when offering an oblation to Agṇi on the occasion of a marriage, and its object is to pray for prosperity in behalf of the married couple. The second prays for long life, kind relatives, and numerous progeny. The third is the marriage pledge by which the contracting parties bind themselves to each other. Its spirit may be guessed from a single verse. In talking of the unanimity with which they will dwell, the bridegroom addresses his bride—"Whatever is thy heart the same shall be mine, and this my heart shall be thine."* The fourth and the fifth invoke Agṇi, Váyu, Chandramas and Surya to bless the couple and ensure healthful progeny. The sixth is a mantra for offering an oblation on the birth of a child; and the seventh and the eighth are prayers for its being healthy, wealthy and powerful, not weak, poor and a mute, and to ensure a profusion of wealth and milch cows.

The first sucta of the second chapter is addressed to the Earth, Agṇi and Indra, with a prayer for wealth, health and prosperity; the second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth are mantras for offering oblations to cattle, the manes, Surya and divers dii minores. The seventh is a curse upon worms, insects, flies and other nuisances, and the last, the concluding mantra of the marriage ceremony, in which a general blessing is invoked for all concerned.

The Upanishad portion bears no relation to this. It opens in a tone very different from the eucharistic dulness of the preceding, and applies itself entirely to a consideration of the relation which man bears to his Maker and the great object of his adoration. In doing so, however, the Hindu scripturalist does not evince a spirit of despondency regarding evils to which human life is subject, such as characterise the writer of the Sáñkhya, or the founder of the Bauddha religion, who feels the evils of this world and seeks in his philosophy for their anti-

* यदेतद् हृदयं तव तदस्तु हृदयं मम।
यदिदं हृदयं मम तदस्तु हृदय तव ॥

dote, but a cool; rational desire to know what becomes of man after death, and how he is to secure the highest blessing hereafter, the result of the first impulse of the highest and the strongest feeling of our nature, viz. the religious feeling. This characteristic, which it owns in common with the other authentic Upanishads,* fully bears out the remark of Ritter that "in the first evolutions of philosophy it was a pure and innocent love of knowledge that impelled men to search and enquire,"† and affords a convincing proof of its high antiquity. Its primitive simplicity and the unartistic turn of its anecdotes, likewise indicate, in a marked manner, the early age of its composition. Compared to some of the smaller Upanishads, it is most probably later, and no doubt it is long subsequent to the era of the Sañhitás. But judging from its style and character, its want of system and simplicity of ideas, it is unmistakeably more ancient than the Sáñkhya, and considerably more so than the philosophy of *S*ákya. For the latter two presuppose an amount of intellectual culture which we look for in vain in the former, though it is the most systematic of all the Upanishads. In the present state of our information, however, regarding the Vedas, it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine positively the relative age of the different Upanishads. The brevity and fragmentary character of some of them, leave no hope that orientalists will ever be able satisfactorily to arrange them in a chronological order. The last chapter (6th) of the Vṛihad Áraṇyaka contains an amplification of some of the anecdotes of the Chhándogya, and as such may be assumed to be of a later origin. Other Upanishads have likewise statements which they must have either borrowed from that or some common source—probably the traditions of the country—to which all are equally indebted. Indeed they suggest the idea that they are all productions of independent authors who

* We here confine our remarks to the eleven Upanishads commented upon by *S*añkara.

† History of Philosophy, vol. II. p. 43.

taught their doctrines at different times and at great distances from each other, but with little consort or communication, and the similitude of their opinions and anecdotes is due more to the traditions whence they have derived their materials than to any extensive mutual aid. Professor Weber, to whom oriental scholars are largely indebted for his learned researches into Vaidik literature, thus juxtaposes the claims to priority of two of the largest of the Upanishads. He observes—

"This Bráhmaṇa (the Chhándogya) is distinguished most particularly by its rich collection of legends on the successive development of Bráhminic theology, and is, for its ideas as well as for its place, time and persons, nearly identical with the Vrihad A'raṇyaka of the White Yajus. Nevertheless the absence of the mention of the Naimis'iya Rishis in the Vrihad A'raṇyaka, and especially in the White Yajus, might lead us to conclude that it is anterior to the Vrihad-Arany. Yet again from the absence of this allusion coupled with the circumstance that we find in it mention made of the Mahávrishas and the Gándháras, though undoubtedly but slightly, it can only be concluded that its origin is more or less occidental; while we know the Vrihad A'raṇyakam appertains entirely to the eastern portion of Hindustan. On the other hand, the numerous fables* in which animals are made to figure and the mention of Mahidása Aitareya, induce us to regard the Chhándogya Upanishad as more modern than the Vrihad A'raṇyakam. With regard to another allusion, which by itself is of the greatest importance, it would be ticklish to hazard an opinion; it is that of Krishṇa Devakiputra who was instructed by Ghora A'ngirasa. The last in fact and next to him Krishna A'ngirasa, but without showing any relationship between them, are named in the Kausitaki Bráhmaṇa. If the last Krishṇa A'ngirasa be identical with Krishṇa Devakiputra, this mention may be taken rather as indicative of the priority of the Vrihad A'raṇyaka than otherwise. But in admitting this identity to be exact, we must attach some importance to

* Three in all; in the first (C. I. s. xii.) some dogs bark in prayer for food, in the 2nd, a goose flying over a king, warns his companions to beware of the king below, and in the third, a bull imparts instruction on Brahma.—R. M.

the change which the name has here undergone : in the place of A'ngirasa he is named Devakiputra, a form of name for which we find no analogy in the Vedic writings except in the Vansas or the geneological tables of the Vrihad A'ranyaka,* which on that account would certainly appertain to an epoch very recent. For the rest the importance of this mention for the understanding of the place which Krishna subsequently occupied is evident. Here he is an ardent student of science belonging perhaps to the military caste, but (it is certain) he must have distinguished himself in some manner, although we have very little information on that point, as otherwise his subsequent elevation to the rank of a god, resulting from exterior circumstances, becomes inexplicable.

" The contemporaneity of the Chhándogya with the Vrihad A'ranyaka is shewn in general by the community of the names in the two works ; Praváhana Jaivali, Ushasti S'akráyana, S'ándilya, Satyakáma Jábála, Uddálaka A'runi, Svetaketu and Asvapati, as also the identity, generally complete, of its 7th† book with corresponding passages in the Vrihad A'ranyaka.

" But for the determination of the recent date of the Chhándogya Upanishad, that which is above all others the most important, is the rich literature which is enumerated at the commencement of the 9th‡ book, and which consequently presupposes its existence. If again one were to take the 9th book as a sort of supplement (the names of Sanatkumára and Skanda are no where else found in the Vedic literature, and Nárada who is not named except in the 2nd part of the Aitareya Bráhmana) there remains nevertheless the allusion to Atharva A'ngirasa, as also to the Itihásas and the Puránas in the 5th book. Now, if we cannot for these last, as for the corresponding passages in the Vrihad A'ranyaka, think that they refer in any case to the works which exist at present as Itihásas and Puránas, we have at all events to take in under those names those works which preceded them, and which originated primarily from traditions

* Vide Pánini IV. 1, 159, and the names Sambhuputra and Ránáyaniputra in the Sáma Sutras, as also Kátyáyaniputra, Maitráyaniputra, Vátriputra, etc., of the Buddhists.

† Fifth of the Upanishad.—R. M.

‡ Seventh of the Upanishad.—R. M.

and legends, (for they agree in part with the hymns of the Rig and in part with its liturgy) and then gradually enlarged their circle, and extended themselves to other circumstances of life, be it to the myths and traditions found originally placed in the Bráhmaṇas themselves or in the other exegetic writings of the Vedas, but which at the time of this passage of the Chhándogya had probably assumed an independent form, although the commentaries ordinarily attribute* these expressions to passages only of the Bráhmaṇas themselves. The Mahábhárat contains, particularly in the first book, some similar Itihásas, likewise in prose, and yet those fragments which have been thus preserved to us correspond in their style as well as in their ideas with similar passages in the Bráhmaṇas, but of a very recent epoch. At any rate the transition of these legends into epic poetry is thereby fully indicated, as well as by their slokas, gáthas, &c. already cited in the Bráhmaṇas themselves, and in other works, for instance in the Brihad-daivatam.

"In the Chhándogya Upanishad we find cited, among other things, a case of law which is rare in the domains of the Vedas, that is to say of the penalty of death for theft (denied) corresponding entirely with the severe ordinances contained on the subject in the laws of Manu. The guilt or innocence is determined by an ordeal, the accused having to carry a red-hot hatchet in his hands; a new analogy with the ordinances of Manu. We find also another point of contact with the state of civilisation of the time of Manu in a passage which exists also in the Vrihad Áraṇyaka i. e. a knowledge of the doctrine of metempsychosis which is here presented to us, for the first time, in a sufficiently complete form, and which by itself ought to be considered in all cases as much more ancient. If the myth of the creation in the 5th book is entirely identical with what we find in the introduction to Manu, that portion or the whole ought perhaps to be regarded as a direct imitation throughout. In the 10th book† which treats of the soul, its place in the body, and its state when it is quitting that place,

* This is not true of *S*añkara, but of Sáyana, Harisvámin, Dvivedagangá in regard to similar passages of the Satapatha Bráhmaṇa and the Taittiriya Áraṇyaka. [True of *S*añkara too, vide Note, p. 116.—R. M.]

† Eighth of the Upanishad.—R. M.

that is to say in its way to the region of Brahma, there may be found several things interesting in connexion with similar passages in the Kausitaki Upanishad already cited, although not without some difference. Here is met, again for the first time in the circle of the Vedas, the name of Ráhu, which prove determinately the place, relatively modern, which the Chhándogya Upanishad occupies.*

This summary brings to a point almost all the evidences on the subject that may be found in the two works. We cannot, however, allow this opportunity to pass without expressing our dissent, with every deference to the opinion of the learned Professor, from the argument furnished by the allusion to the ordeal by fire, as we think it of very little importance in determining the age of the Chhándogya with reference to the Mánava Dharma *S*ástra. Ordeals as means for detecting theft imply a very primitive state of society, and such of them as are ordained in the laws of Manu must have been known in the country long before those laws were compiled into a code, for the Mánava Dharma is a digest and not an original dispensation, and it cannot therefore follow that every allusion to facts and circumstances described in that code must necessarily imply the posteriority of the work in which such allusions are made.

An attempt has lately been made to prove that some of the doctrines inculcated in the Chhándogya in common with the other Upanishads, are of Buddhist origin, and consequently the work itself is of a post-Buddhic era. But the argument used to establish this hypothesis, is founded on a petitio principii, very much like the one we have discussed above. It begins by assigning to Buddha what, as philosophic ideas, were probably well known long before they were adopted by the founder of Buddhism, and then argues the works in which they occur to be posterior to the system of *S*ákya Siñha; when the character of those very works indicates the assumption to be utterly un-

* "Histoire de la Littérature indienne par Weber, apud Sadous, pp. 145-150."

founded.* The Upanishads belong to an age of search and enquiry, the Nyáya to an age of systematization, the Sáñkhya to doubt following enquiry, and the Bauddha-philosophy to an epoch when doubt and disbelief, taking possession of men's minds, dared at last to raise their head boldly against God himself. The hypothesis of the post Buddhist origin of the Upanishads would reverse this order, and begin with the infidelity of *S*ákya, to be followed by the doubt of Kapila, and then the enquiry of the Upanishads, adopted with almost a holy reverence for the authority of law and religion; or, in other words, the infancy of the mind to follow its manhood. There are no doubt similitudes in the doctrines current in the Hindu and the Buddhist works, but they do not at all militate against their being due to very different eras. They appear in the Upanishads as mere germs of philosophic thought, brought down from remote antiquity by tradition, with occasional alteration or amplification, but with no great attempt at method, arrangement or classification. In the Nyáya some of them are for the first time reduced to a system, which was followed by others, till at last the rage for philosophy led to the creation of a large number of schools and systems—theistic, atheistic, and pantheistic—which were brought to bear upon *S*ákya when he first entered upon philosophical enquiry. In the Lalita Vistara, the names of a great number of these are still extant, and they are there avowed to be of Brahminical origin, which leave no doubt as to the existence of some of the Hindu Dar*s*aṇas long before the advent of the Saugata reformer. A full discussion, however, of the subject in all its bearings require more space

* Dr. Röer argues the Kaṭha Upanishad to be posterior to the Sañkhya, because its innumeration of the order of emanations for the absolute spirit accords, to some extent, not entirely, with the order followed by the latter. The Kaṭha has nothing of the scientific precision of the Sañkhya, and it would, therefore, be much more natural to suppose that the latter borrowed from the former.

than we propose to devote to this Introduction, and we must, therefore, here confine ourselves to a brief analysis of our text.

It has been already observed that the Chhándogya Bráhmaṇa comprises ten prapáṭhakas or chapters, of which only the first two constitute the Bráhmaṇa; hence it is that *S*añkara begins his commentary on the latter portion with the words "The eight chapters beginning with Om, this letter, &c. comprise the Chhándogya Upanishad." The chapters are of unequal length, and include from thirteen to twenty-four sections or lessons (adhyáyas), so arranged that while some sections treat of a subject in a continuous strain, others are quite detached and unconnected. Thus the first twelve sections of the first chapter are devoted to the adoration of the Deity through a symbol—while the thirteenth has for its subject the similitude of certain musical particles with the universe. In the second chapter, the first twenty-two sections symbolise the creation in the Sáma, while the twenty-third and the twenty-fourth have distinct subjects of their own. Subsequent chapters afford similar instances in abundance.

The symbol recommended in the first chapter as the most appropriate, is the particle Om, otherwise called the 'Udgítha' or the 'Praṇava.' It is described as "the quintessence of all essences, the supreme, the most adorable." (C. I. s. 1.) It is the animating principle of the body (s. 2), the dispenser of heat (s. 3), superior to all ritual observances, (s. 4), the ordainer of all organic functions (s. 7), and the noblest portion of the pre-eminent of all the Vedas—the Sáma. (s. 6.) In establishing these attributes of Om, several anecdotes are narrated, in one of which (s. 8) a Kshetria takes precedence of two Bráhmaṇs in explaining the subject of their discourse. Similar precedence is given to Kshetrias in sections 3rd and 11th of the fifth chapter, and in the Kaṭha and the Vrihad Áraṇyaka Upanishads. Nor does this precedence appear to be accidental. Praváhana king of Pan-

chála (C. V. s. 3) goes the length of asserting that the knowledge of man's lot hereafter was first attained by his own caste. In reply to a question from a Bráhmaṇ he says, (C. V. s. 3), " Since you have thus enquired, and inasmuch as no Brahman ever knew it before, of all people in the world the Kshetrias alone have the right of imparting instruction on this subject." Considering that the Bráhmaṇs have been the sole repositories of the sacred writings of the Hindus for considerably more than three thousand years, and the other castes were strictly forbidden to have any knowledge of them, except through the medium of priests, the existence of this verse, so prejudicial to the interest and dignity of the Bráhmaṇic hierarchy, may be taken as an evidence of the highest importance in favour of the authenticity of the Chhándogya Upanishad. For if any liberty had been taken, it is hard to suppose that the Bráhmaṇs would have spared a verse which ascribes the origin of the most important element of the Vedic theology, its dispensation of a future state, to their rivals the Kshetrias. It affords a proof, likewise, if any proof were needed in support of so generally received a proposition, that the theology of the Upanishads is an after-thought, independent of the Vedas, and attached to them simply to secure to it the prestige of those sacred writings. It is worthy of notice, farther, that that theology is of non-Bráhmaṇic origin, and forced upon the Bráhmaṇs by those whom they wanted to, and did, hold in mental thraldom.

Although the subject of the first chapter is the adoration of Om, it nowhere confounds the symbol with the object symbolized. On the contrary, every precaution is taken to point out the distinction, and throughout the book the most earnest appeals are made in favour of a rational understanding of, as opposed to a blind faith in, the attributes of the Divinity. Knowledge is its pole-star, and, while imprecations dire are denounced against those who neglect intelligently to examine the real purport of the scriptures, the unvarying assurance

at the end of every chapter as well as at the end of most of the sections, is that every blessing under the sun attends him who understands the object of the Upanishads. As with Socrates, so in the Chhándogya, the end of life is wisdom and intelligence; and therefore "all that is intellectual is precious, and all that is the contrary, despicable." Thus in the fifth chapter of the Upanishad (s. 10), those who perform ceremonies after knowing their real purport, are declared fit to be translated to the region of Brahma, while those who perform them without such knowledge, are sent away through a darksome path to become "the food of the gods." Ushasti son of Chakra, addressing the chanters of the Vedas at a sacrifice, says: (C. I. s. 10.) "Should ye eulogize him who is the presiding deity of all praise without knowing his nature, your heads would surely be lopped off." Aswapati (C. V. s. 12 *et seq.*) invokes similar imprecations against those who adore the sun, moon, Indra, &c. as gods, and not as the manifestations of divine attributes. Again, (C. iv. s. 17) "that sacrifice becomes efficacious of which the Brahmá is conscient of all this," (i. e. of the nature of ceremonies) ;—"That sacrifice slopeth to the north of which the Brahmá knoweth all this. Whenever any flaw happeneth in a ceremony, this knowledge of Brahmá setteth every thing right." "He who is aware of this (the nature of the Universal Soul) seeing the Soul thus, thinking it thus, and knowing it thus, becomes (even in this life) *one* whose entire devotion is to the Soul, whose recreation is in the Soul, whose helpmate is the Soul, and whose felicity is the Soul. (In after life) he becomes self-resplendent. He is able to accomplish whatever he desires in all the regions of the universe. Those who believe otherwise, having others for their masters, go to perishable regions. For them nothing is accomplished in any of the regions of the universe."

These and similar passages afford a curious parallel to the Socratic doctrine, "that all virtue is one,—wisdom or intelligence,—and that no act performed *without* a clear insight into

its nature and tendency is good; or evil, if *with* that insight."* The knowledge extolled by the Upanishad is the knowledge "of the good, and of the reason which rules all and is over all—God." It is the same with the *wisdom* of the Grecian philosopher, of which it is said—

"He (Socrates) also said that justice and every other virtue was Wisdom; for just acts and all whatever other things are done by virtue, are both beautiful and good. And that neither will those who know these things choose any thing else instead of them; nor will such as do not understand them be able to perform them, and even if they make the attempt, they fail. Thus the wise do things good and beautiful, and the unwise cannot, and if they try, they fail. Since therefore just acts and all other beautiful and good things are accomplished by virtue, it is manifest that justice and every other virtue is Wisdom."†

Analogies, often phonetic but more frequently fanciful, are generally used in this as well as in the subsequent chapters, in the place of arguments, and they give a most puerile air to the whole composition.

In the second chapter certain technical terms‡ of the Sáma Veda are represented as the type of the universe, and as such the emblems of the Divinity, and therefore worthy of adoration. They are evidently the names of the seven notes of the gamut, and as the hymns of the Veda in question are all intended for

* Ritter's History of Philosophy, II. p. 69.

† Ἔφη δὲ καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πᾶσαν ἀρετην σοφίαν εἶναι. τά τε γὰρ δικαια καὶ πάντα ὅσα αρετῇ πράττεται καλά τε καὶ αγαθὰ εἶναι· καὶ οὔτ' ἂν τούς ταῦτα εἰδότας ἄλλο ἀντὶ τοῦτων οὐδὲν προελέσθαι, οὔτε τοὺς μὴ ἐπισταμένους δύνασθαι πράττειν, ἀλλα καὶ ἐὰν ἐγχειρῶσιν, ἁμαρτάνειν. οὕτω καὶ τὰ καλά τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ τοὺς μὲν σοφοὺς πράττειν, τοὺς δὲ μὴ σοφοὺς οὐ δύνασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐὰν ἐγχειρῶσιν, ἁμαρτάνειν. ἐπεὶ οὖν τά τε δικαια καὶ τὰ ἄλλα καλά τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ πάντα ἀρετῇ πράττεται, δῆλον εἶναι, ὅτι καὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἡ ἄλλη πᾶσα ἀρετὴ σοφια ἐστι. Xenophon, Memorabilia, iii. 5.

‡ The terms Hiñkára, Prastáva, Ádi, Udgitha, Pratihára, Upadrava and Nidhana.

singing, the whole of that Veda is indicated by those terms. Preëminent above them is the syllable Om, and the chapter ends by declaring it to be the emblem of the universe and of the Deity.

The third chapter opens with an allegorical description of the firmament as a bee-hive, the sun as honey, and the Vedic hymns as honey-makers. The honey is declared to be the food of the Vashus, the Rudras, the Ádityas, the Maruts and other superhuman beings. The rewards which attend its enjoyment are likewise described at length. Those rewards are, however, evanescent and of a sensuous character, and therefore, forsaking them, the scripturalist turns to a Sun "that, appearing above all, neither riseth nor setteth, but remaineth alone in the centre." With reference to it he says, "Bear ye witness, O gods, that I may say nothing contradictory of that truthful Brahma." (S. 11.) That sun is identical with that which is indicated by the Gáyatrí—the Supreme Ruler of the universe. "It is verily the space which surroundeth mankind. That which surroundeth mankind is of a truth the space which existeth within mankind. That which existeth within mankind is of a truth the space which existeth within the heart. It is omnipresent and eternal." As the supreme object of human adoration he should be approached "with a quiet and controlled mind," and thus reflected upon: "That which is nothing but mind, whose body is its life, whose figure is a mere glory, whose will is truth, whose soul is like space, (Ákása) which performeth all things and willeth all things, to which belong all sweet odours and grateful juices; which envelopes the whole of this world; which neither speaketh nor respecteth any body, is the Soul within me; it is lighter than a corn or a barley, or a mustard or a canary seed, or the substance within it. Such a Soul is within me as is greater than the earth, and greater than the sky, and greater than the heaven, and greater than all these regions put together." (s. 14.)

The subsequent sections of the chapter are devoted to alle-

gorical representations of the life of man as a fire sacrifice, and the vital functions as manifestations of the Deity.

The whole of the fourth chapter is narrative. It recounts, first how one Jánasruti, the great grandson of Janasruti, obtained instruction on the attributes of the Deity, then a discourse between Saunaka, Abhipratárin and a hermit, and next an anecdote of Satyakáma, who, in course of tending his master's flock, obtained instruction on the nature of Brahma from a bull, a sacrificial fire, the wind, and the sun. Although a natural born son whose father was unknown, and recognised by the contemptuous sobriquet of Jábála from the designation of his mother Jabálá, he attained to great distinction as a teacher, and knower of Brahma, and his name and that of his son have been frequently quoted as authorities in the Upanishads. The last anecdote in the chapter is that of Upakosala (s. 10) who, while abiding as a Brahmachári, obtained from the sacrificial fires of his tutor Satyakáma, and subsequently from the tutor himself, instruction on divinity. The sum of the instruction is comprised in the assurance that "the being who is seen in the sun," i. e. the animating principle of the sun, as well as that of the moon and lightning, is the God Supreme, and that those who know it so, are blessed.

The next chapter opens with a parable of life and the organs of sense, with a view to establish the preëminence of the former. Speech, audition, vision and mind are made successively to forsake the body, which notwithstanding continues to thrive, as a dumb, a deaf, or a blind man or an infant. Life at last attempted "to depart, and in the very attempt, as a mighty charger, when whipped, plucks out from their places all the pegs to which its feet may be tied, it dislodged all the organs of sense." This obliged the senses to acknowledge its superiority, and it is accordingly described as "the eldest and greatest." The story is repeated by Satyakáma son of Jabálá, who takes the opportunity to teach his pupil Gosruti, the mode of offering oblations to life with a view to attain superior

excellence. He is followed by Praváhana king of Panchála, a Kshetria, who explains to Uddálaka, a Brahmin saint, "where men rise to from this earth," "how they return," "where the way to heaven (Deva Yána) and the upper regions (Pitri Yána) divides," "why the region where men rise to after death does not fill up," and "why the fluids of the fifth oblation are called Purusha." Uddálaka, however, seems to benefit little by the instruction, and, when questioned by certain Bráhmaṇ saints "great householders and knowers of the Vedas" as to "which is our soul and which is Brahma," evades their enquiry and takes them to a Kshetria king, Aśvapati by name. The king receives his guests with becoming civility, and explains to them that the heaven, the sun, the winds, the sky, and the waters to which they severally offer their adorations, were but the glories of the "Universal Soul which pervadeth the heaven and the earth, and is the principal object indicated by (the pronoun) I," i. e. that essence in man which calls itself I.* (Section 18.) This identification of the Universal and the human soul leads him on to identify it again with the five vital airs, *scil.* breath, the air diffused into the body, the flatus in the lower intestines, the air essential to digestion, and that which rises upwards towards the head, or in other words the sum total of existence. He goes on :—"Verily of that all-pervading Soul, the heaven is the head, the sun is the eye, the wind is the breath, the sky is the trunk, the moon is the fundament, and the earth is the feet. The altar is His breast,

* Hence it is that the knowledge of the Deity is called in the Upanishads *átmajnána* "knowledge of self,"—a curious parallel with the Delphic oracle "Know thyself." Plato has something similar. He says: "Absolute science is the pure self-consciousness of the reason—the conviction it has of itself,—which assures to every special science its value and right import." "Its object is the eternal truth—the unchangeable, unborn, imperishable—of which all that can be said, is, that it is." The same as the *sat* or "being" of our text.—Ritter, II. pp. 197-189.

the sacrificial grass constitutes the hair of His body, the household fire forms His heart, the annáháryapachana fire forms His mind, the Áhavaniya fire His face."

These instructions seem to suffice for the edification of Uddálaka, and he appears in the next chapter as a teacher of metaphysics in all its branches. His discourse, though short, is by far the most interesting in the whole range of the Upanishad. Ontology, cosmogony and theodicy are his subjects, and he treats them with consummate tact and talent, although not without some taint of the extravagant and fanciful analogies which so disfigure the lectures of his tutors. His style resembles that of the ancient schools of Greece, and his expressions often meet with their counterparts in the writings of Plato and his contemporaries. His great doctrine is that, at first God alone existed and that the creation is but an evolution of His will. His language, however, is involved. He says, addressing his son for whose edification the discourse is delivered, "Before, O child, this (creation) was a mere state of being (sat), one only, without a second. Thereof verily others say, 'Before this was non-being, one alone, without a second, from that non-being proceeds the state of being.' "But of a truth, O child, how can that be? How can being proceed from non-being? Before, O child, this was only being, one only, without a second." The "state of being" *(sat)* here is evidently intended for the Deity, a something absolutely inexpressible and inconceivable, and may be compared to the το ον of the Grecian philosophers. The style of the argument, it will be seen, is very much the same as used in the discussion between Plato and the Eleatæ. Ritter in his summary of Plato's arguments against the negative portion of the Eleatic dogma "that all is one and there is no multiplicity," says, "the non-being neither is any thing, nor can be conceived, either as multiplicity or as unity:" "This indeed is the great difficulty in the conception of non-being, that both he who denies and he who affirms its reality are driven to contradict

themselves. For although it is inexpressible and inconceivable either as one or many, nevertheless, when speaking of it, it is unavoidable to attribute to it both being and multiplicity—whether we assert that the non-being is not, or that non-existent things can neither be expressed nor conceived."* The language of *S*añkara is, in like cases, exactly similar. Talking of those who deny the existence of the Soul he says, "the Buddhist doctrine of nothingness is likewise false, for the maintainer of the doctrine proves his own reality." His remarks on the passage above quoted are also worthy of note.†

Creation is said to have proceeded from the will of this Being, or *Sat*, which subsequently entered the creation as its life to manifest itself in various names and forms. The order of creation is first heat, thence water, and thence aliment. This is not consonant with the order of the Taittiriyaka, in which air and space (ákása) are likewise included. Vyása, in the Vedánta Sutras, maintains that there is no contradiction in this, inasmuch as the deficient authority is not restrictive, nor does it profess to be a complete enumeration. It would be foreign to our purpose to enter here into an examination of the question, or of the view taken by *S*ánkara as to the propriety of the divine omniscient Deity, intelligently wishing to enter a created body, and the manner in which He made such entry. Suffice it to say that the passage above quoted forms one of the chief texts for the pantheistic disquisitions of the later Vedantists, although Uddálaka, instead of supposing with the Pantheists

* Soph. p. 239, a. φαμὲν δέ γε δεῖν, εἴπερ ὀρθῶς τις λέξει, μήτε ὡς ἓν, μήτε ὡς πολλά διορίζειν αὐτο (sc. τὸ μὴ ὄν) μηδὲ το παράπαν αὐτὸ καλεῖν, ἓν τι γὰρ ἤδη καὶ κατὰ ταύτην ἂυ τὴν προςρησιν προςαγορεύοιτο.

† In the Black Yajur Bráhmaṇa (Vol. II. p. 923) there occurs a passage about *Sat* and *Asat* (being and non-being) which leaves no doubt of that philosophical dogma having been known to the Hindus at a very early period of their history when "beef eating" was held a meritorious deed. The passage runs thus: नासदासीन्नो सदासीत् तदानीम्। "when neither being nor non-being existed."

the absolute consubstantiality of God and nature,—of God and the whole universe being one and the same substance,*—makes the Deïty create the universe first, and then shed on it as it were a ray of his light. His doctrine, in short, is not the absorption of the infinite into the finite—of God in nature,—but of the finite in the infinite—nature in God. It might be an exaggeration of *theism*, but not the *pantheism* which destroys the responsibility of man to his maker.

Creation lives by its association with the reflection of the divinity. Separated from it, it dies. Hence it follows that a knowledge of that reflection, i. e. of one's own soul is, by a figure of metonymy, equal to a knowledge of God himself. Uddálaka exerts his utmost to convince his son of the importance of this doctrine by a series of illustrations and experiments, and in the true spirit of the Delphic oracle "know thyself" reiterates at the end of every section, "That particle which is the soul of all this, is Truth; it is the Universal Soul. O Swetaketu, thou art that."

Among the illustrations occurs a comparison of the human soul to rivers flowing towards the ocean, very similar to a passage in Hume. "These rivers, my child," says Uddálaka, "proceed from the East towards the West, thence from the ocean (they rise in the form of vapour and dropping again,) they flow towards the South, and merge into the ocean. Here as they do not remember what they were, even so all these created beings, having proceeded from the Truth, know not that they have issued therefrom." According to Hume, "the Divinity is a boundless ocean of bliss and glory. Human minds are smaller streams which, arising at first from this ocean, seek, still amid all their wanderings, to return to it, and to lose themselves in that immensity and perfection."

In another illustration, it is shewn that relationship is due

* *Pantheistæ* qui contendunt unicam esse substantiam cujus partes sunt omnia entia quæ existunt.

Lacoudre, *Instit. Philosoph.* tom II. p. 120.

to the soul and not to the body, for says Uddálaka, the very men who express the greatest anxiety for their relative during his illness, fail not, after death, to burn him on the funeral pyre.*

The Seventh Chapter is devoted to a dialogue between Nárada and Sanatkumára, in which the latter explains, to the former, the attributes of God. Sanatkumára opens the discourse by declaring a knowledge of the four Vedas, the Itihásas and Puráṇas, grammar, rituals, physics, astronomy, the sciences cognate to the Vedas, the fine arts and the like, to be worthless, unaided by a knowledge of Brahma or the Divine Soul. He forsakes them in the spirit in which Socrates† abandoned physical studies, or Aristippus the Cyrenaic‡ gave up Mathematics. Such knowledge, he says, is nominal, a name only. Speech is greater than such name, and Mind greater than speech; Will is greater than mind, and Sensitivity is greater still; Reflection is higher than sensitivity and Knowledge is above it; Power is greater than knowledge, and aliment, water, heat, space, memory and hope are successively greater; and lastly above all stands Práṇa or Life, the greatest of all and worthy of the highest adoration. It should be approached with truth and zeal and faith and reverence, and viewed as an Immensity abiding in its own glory. "That Immensity extends from above; it extends from below; it extends from behind; it extends from before; it extends from the South; it extends from the North—of a truth it is all this." It is the Soul of the Universe—it is God himself. The man who is conscient of this divinity "confronts not death nor disease, nor doth he meet with pain and suffering."

This description of the Deity as immensity being liable to misapprehension, inasmuch as it might tend to the inference that the Deity is synonymous with space, the author of the Upanishad, in the last chapter, describes Him as beyond conception small, and situated within a minute chamber in the heart. But feeling that thereby he makes the Deity finite, he

* Vide passim Brihadáraṇyaka Upanishad. edit. Röer, p. 444.

† Xenoph. Mem. I. 1, No. 11 sqq. IV. 7, No. 2 sqq.

‡ De Legg. VI. p. 771.

immediately proclaims that, though minute, that Deity is the envelope of the whole creation. He next compares Him with a bridge, a fire sacrifice, and truth. His place in the heart and in the Brahmaloka high above all other regions, and the rewards of knowing him are next explained. An anecdote is then related of how Indra and Vairochana sought instruction of Prajápati, and the latter explained to them the nature of the Universal Soul. Indra represents enquiring intelligence, and Vairochana self-sufficiency. When they are told that the Soul is that being which is perceived in one's eye, or the reflection which one's own self casts in water or a mirror, the latter goes away satisfied, and believes and acts under the impression that "self alone is adorable; in this world self alone should be served; by adoring and serving one's self both this and the other world may be attained:" but the former seeks farther information. He is next told that "that which enjoys in a dream, the feeling of being gratified by the attainment of a coveted object, is the soul," and subsequently that "that in which retiring, the sleeper is completely at rest," is the Soul. But they, too, fail to satisfy him, and he is at last taught that the Soul is immortal and unembodied, but that when it rests within a mortal body, it becomes "subject to desirable and repulsive objects," but when released from that body it becomes released from its amenities.* The work is brought to a close with a summing up of its instruction in the following words: "Having studied the Vedas in the house of a tutor, and having paid to the guru what is his due, one should dwell with his family in a healthy country, reading the Vedas, bringing up virtuous sons and pupils, devoting himself with all his senses to the Universal Soul, and destroying no created being. Having lived thus as long as life lasts he attains the Brahma-loka."

* The legend is given with some alteration in the last chapter of the Kaushitaki Upanishad.

The Universal Soul, to which according to this Upanishad our highest adoration is due, has been variously named *Átmá, Paramátmá, Práṇa, Brahma, Para Brahma, Om, &c.* and we have transliterated and translated these terms at random without any fixed rule, for which we cannot but express our regret. Práṇa has been at different places translated into life, vital air, soul, &c. and Brahma has been translated sometimes in the masculine and sometimes in the neuter gender. Our version too is, we feel, inelegant, owing, no doubt, as much to our own incapacity as to a desire to shew the nature of the text, by keeping as close to it as possible, and avoiding all freedom of expression or improvement of style at all likely to mar the sentiments, connexion and metaphors of the original.

1*st November*, 1861.

PAGE NO- 38 TO 66 MISSING IN ORIGINAL;

4. [The latter replied] "I allude to such a being to whom the fruits of all the good deeds of mankind become subservient in the same way in which all the minor numbers become due to him who hath secured the Krita or the highest cast of the dice, and those who know what he knows likewise secure [the same reward]."

5. Jánas'ruti great-grandson of Janas'ruti listened to this. [In the morning] rising [from his bed while being eulogized by his bards] he thus addressed his herald: "O child, do you address me as if I were the Rakvya of the car? [I am not deserving of such praise.] O child, do you of a truth go and speak unto Rakvya of the car [that I long to see him]." [Of him enquired the bard:] "and who is this Rakvya of the car?"

6. [The latter replied] "I allude to such a being to whom the fruits of all the good deeds of mankind become subservient in the same way in which all the minor numbers become due to him who hath secured the Krita or the highest cast of the dice, and those who know what he knows likewise secure [the same reward]."

7. The bard searched for him, and, returning, said, "I have found him not." Unto him, said [Jánas'ruti], "Do ye go and look for him where the knowers of Brahma are to be met with."*

8. He proceeded, and, by one sitting beside a car and scratching his itches, sat down and said, "Art thou, O lord, Rakvya of the car?" "Yes, I am," said the other. "Now I know," [thought the bard] and retired.

SECTION II.

1. Upon this Jánas'ruti the great-grandson of Janas'ruti, taking with him six hundred head of cattle, a necklace and a

* In lonely places, near rivers and pools, in mountains and groves. SANKARA.

pair of mules, yoked to a chariot, repaired to him, and thus addressed, "O Rakvya, here [is a present] of six hundred head of cattle, a necklace, and a pair of mules yoked to a chariot [accept them, and deign], O Lord, to impart to me instruction on that deity whom thou adorest."

2. Unto him said the other, "Let these head of cattle and necklace and chariot remain with thee, O Sudra." Hereupon, Jánas'ruti, great-grandson of Janas'ruti, taking a thousand head of cattle, a necklace, a pair of mules yoked to a chariot and his daughter, again returned to him,

3. And said, "O Rakvya, this [herd of a] thousand cows, this necklace, this pair of mules yoked to a chariot, this damsel and this village in which thou dwellest [I beg to offer to thee: accept them and deign] to impart to me instruction."

4. Knowing her, [the damsel,] to be the cause of his imparting instruction, he [Rakvya] said; "Hast thou brought her [for me], O Sudra? She will be the cause of my conversing with thee." Hence are these villages in this country of great virtue [mahábrisha] where he lived, called Rakvyapurna. Unto him explained he, [the nature of the deity he adored].

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2. *** He [Jánas'ruti] was a king, having a herald, as we learn [from the passage]: "He addressed to a herald," also from the fact of his repairing to a Bráhmana for instruction, which would be inconsistent in a Sudra; how then did such an inapplicable expression as "O Sudra" proceed from Rakvya? Sages have explained it thus. From the speech of the geese he was assailed by grief [súka] hence Sudra; or because hearing [srutvá] of Rakvya's praise he ran [dravati] and therefore Sudra; and the sage in order to show his omniscience used the expression "O Sudra;" or it might be, because instead of trying to obtain knowledge by serving his tutor, he, like a Sudra, proceeded to gain instruction by paying for the same, and therefore is called a Sudra, although he was not of that caste. Others say, that annoyed with his small offer the sage rebuked him with the term Sudra.